1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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624 [183] They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their families, their farms, and their property.

If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would 624 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If 626 you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or whip you (which is purely a threat). If you work and raise plenty to eat, people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time; but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate 624 occasions (*skwigwauig*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The [156] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others [554] partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any [701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess 624 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis- 554 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications 428 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big chief, Wasákwívámă. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jolka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
836 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
183 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the
178 practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
684 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
● [626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastised him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
964 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

584 834 ing on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals except at the swimming hole what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may however, recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial period of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

Tolerance and Restraint

626 183 While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities: (1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males);

(4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported); (5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which pressure by whites probably was responsible for measures taken. 626● 183

As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl, public sentiment was but mildly and only temporarily aroused. Parents of the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject was never publicly discussed by the parents and no action was taken. The victim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather, upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker, tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately rebuked him. 684 626

Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender in any of the six categories listed above.

Illegitimate Births

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times. Leslie Spier, noting in a personal communication that he reported the rarity of illegitimate births (1928, p. 300), suggests "it may well have been that because of the shortage of women between 20 and 45 the girls were snapped up as wives as soon as they were nubile." 848

In 1953, six unmarried girls and women had borne a total of 11 babies (living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight were from 16 to 31 years old. The earliest age at which one of them became a mother was 14 years. Among married women, 11 mothers had borne a total of 18 babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage or between marriages. (The number of women probably is larger, but no attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from 18 to 88 years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed, or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. Of a total of 52 Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least 11 or approximately 1/5 of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of 24 girls 14 years of age or older (14 being the age of the youngest mother), eight, or 1/3, had borne one or more illegitimate children.

A girl's prestige *suffers* when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad," and her 848 554 626

848 554 626 child is called "everybody's baby," said to be the literal meaning of the term for illegitimacy. Censure is not directed at a male believed to be the father of an illegitimate child. Nevertheless, unmarried mothers do marry, so case being known in which a mother of an illegitimate child was unable to marry later on. It is said that the mother of an illegitimate child seldom marries the child's own father. In three marriages where this did occur, all three couples were for a year or more prevented by family or tribal disapproval from marriage because they were too closely related. A woman who has borne more than one fatherless child may be scorned or riduculed more severely behind her back than is the mother of only one such child.

Prostitution and Adult Promiscuity

548 626 Public censure of one girl, aged 23, who is labeled a prostitute, originates for the most part among girls in her own age group who ostracize her and among married women who gossip about her. The reason given by girls of her age for excluding her is not promiscuous activities but a claim that she "says mean things to us and wants to quarrel with us." Censure is not directed at Havasupai men known to patronize her. A widower of 60, the day after a visit to this girl, stopped at the house of his sister and brother-in-law to joke about his experience. He thought it hilarious that he had been momentarily interrupted by another caller but told his brother-in-law he had been "afraid" at the time, because the other caller, a Hopi, was a regular "boy friend" of the girl. The widower told his brother-in-law that, "I was gonna come get you to fight him." The brother-in-law replied that, had he done so, "I would have told that Hopi, 'This girl is this man's wife so stay away from her.'" Everyone present laughed at this joke.

The widower's sister stated that her brother "had been after" this so-called prostitute for a long time, but that he would not consider marrying her because "he would always think she was running around when his back was turned." The sister said that most of the Havasupai men wouldn't marry her for that reason. The sister seemed to think her brother's part in the episode acceptable and humorous, but spoke of the girl with disdain.

Two or three women, now deceased, are said to have been promiscuous "except that they didn't get paid for it in the old days." However, these women were said to be middle-aged widows or divorcees before they became sexually indiscriminate. One of them is said to have died from a venereal disease.

garding the marital status of the couple involved. Further, trial marriages lack stability; a rather large number of them are terminated after a few months. However, they are based on mutual interest, desire for possible permanent association, sexual relations (generally mutually exclusive during this period), and sometimes by common residence. While a trial marriage ending in separation tends to be discounted by the couple involved, they generally will admit that, at the time, they considered themselves married. 582 [586]

Two recent cases will serve to illustrate trial marriage in practice. In the first example, a couple began courting when the girl was about 13, but her maternal grandparents, who had reared her, objected that she was too young for marriage. (Perhaps of more significance than the girl's age, however, was the strained relationship between her grandparents and her boy friend's mother arising from an earlier conflict involving the boy's mother and the girl's maternal aunt, married to the boy's older brother. That problem ultimately had been resolved by termination of patrilocal residence. Since the young man was the only son remaining at home to help his widowed mother, the girl's grandparents, mindful of their daughter's former unhappiness, probably were reluctant to yield their granddaughter to almost certain patrilocal residence with this same mother-in-law.)

However, despite family opposition, the couple continued their mutual interest for about two years. When the girl was barely 14, the pair started on horseback to be married outside the reservation, but the girl's relatives overtook them and halted the elopement. Opposition to the union continued, but shortly thereafter the young man began to spend some nights with his girl at her camp. Her grandparents had not changed their view and continued to oppose the marriage. However, by the following summer, the couple was in matrilocal residence and the groom was observed doing some work for his wife's grandfather. Shortly thereafter the couple had a baby and moved to the young man's camp. Thus, serious, or secondary courtship was carried on for two years while the girl was in early adolescence, and trial marriage dated from the time the youth openly began to spend nights at her home. During the latter period I asked the young man's mother if the couple were married. She replied in an uncertain tone and with a thoughtful countenance, "I don't know. My boy don't say nothing to me yet about him married." Some months later, active family opposition ceased and the marriage was seemingly privately acknowledged and publicly recognized.

In a second case, a boy and girl who had been engaged in a clandestine affair for some time were staying temporarily with respective relatives at Grand Canyon while employed there. When they simultaneously ceased sleeping at their relatives' camps, it was assumed that they were staying together elsewhere. Flaunting Havasupai convention, they spent their daytime leisure together publicly, not bothering to disguise their mutual interest. Although the girl's parents privately disapproved of the boy as a son- [626]

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised
[626] the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later
on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[848] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[586] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
584 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[586] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[626] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
[183] marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
[585] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 80 (too young to have

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The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son [154]
who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 578
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitatha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 584
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 862
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [862]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

755 disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil
756 spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

756 In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who
686 had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is per-
527 formed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of Sept-
535 ember and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a
712 prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At
648 this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abun-
dance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

527 The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon, the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

535 A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the
527 rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The
535 drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each
527 intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

527 As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from
535 the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted
626 in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

527 The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about mid-
535 night. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for
541 the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in
647 horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

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relatives should not marry.[9] This probably helps account, in part, for the lack of 423
partnering in acquisition of land for newly-weds. Sometimes a couple may hold [512]
different small plots of land which came to them from a variety of sources.

Land is sometimes held and worked in common by a group of relatives, though it is oftener divided as a matter of convenience. Sometimes only certain plots are held in common by an extended family, while the others are tended by individual members. There is apparently no feeling that one way is better than another. The tribe owns a large tract of grazing land on the Plateau, where they keep herds of economically useless horses. This area is common tribal land with no boundaries.

It is apparent that it would be misleading to sum up Havasupai land rights as "private property," for as Spier had already indicated,[10] the superficial appearance of individual land ownership is really ownership of the produce of the land. Actually there seem to be varieties of rights which pertain variously to the individual proprietor, the family, and the village.[11] The individual proprietor's rights to the land are largely rights to use the land. His control does not extend appreciably further than this, as can be inferred from the fact that if he fails to use the land, someone else soon occupies it. He has practically no rights which involve the disposal of the land, except insofar as he may be an influential voice in the deliberations of his family.

The rights of the consanguineal family are greater, and it is they who, in an immediate sense, have control over the disposition of their land. The rights of the community tend to be ultimate rights. Public opinion, and the council, when [626] ●
it is moved to act by a strong public feeling, is often the force which brings a family squabble to a decision compatible with the tribal interests. The three principles which guide land disposition—relationship, personal merit, and need—are public or tribal conceptions. The factor of relationship tends to keep the land within the family, and thus objectifies the familial rights, while by the latter two principles land tends to be distributed according to the best interests of the whole community. 192

The fact that a feeling of community rights in land is very strong among 423

9 Out of 39 inter-tribal marriages of individuals whose antecedents could be ascertained, 30 were between individuals of no traceable relationship; 9 were of distant relatives no closer than third cousins; 10 were of various degrees of second cousins; and only 2 were of first (cross) cousins, and they were once removed in generation.

10 *Problems Arising from the Cultural Position of the Havasupai* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, pp. 213-222, 1929), p. 221.

11 See Max Gluckman, *Studies in African Land Tenure* (African Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1944) for a theoretical discussion of what he calls "clusters of rights."

They never chastise children, although, like them, they are fitfully very cruel or kind to pets and domesticated animals. The men, who constantly crowded about my host's hut, were incessantly chattering and laughing, even when the gravest subjects were approached or discussed. The women are by education less vivacious than the men. While paying no attention to pets, they are as affectionate toward children as are the men. They shrink from strangers, rarely, if ever, join in conversation, and preserve a modest bearing, not so much from nature as through fear of censure from the men. They are patient and industrious in the extreme, and while at work are inclined to chat in a sort of monotone with one another. During the absence of the men, they are more disposed to be communicative with strangers, seemingly, not sharing their suspicions of them. The women are not as passionate as the men, although easily moved to tears.

The men are very inquisitive, curious to know about other nations, although not much impressed by things beyond their own comprehension, and unable readily to receive complex ideas. They are humorous and quite witty, delighting in repartee, hoaxing, and jokes; and look in a facetious rather than a critical light upon the awkwardness or discomfiture, even though serious, of others. They laughed and chatted and joked for hours about the death of one of our horses, and the predicament it left us in. The animal, weak after its terrible passage of the deserts, had staggered into the river and drowned. Most spirited and laughable pictures were drawn of our probable sufferings and tears, when returning without the horse; but they said we ought to be comforted in our loss, even with the prospect of famine or exhaustion, when we reflected that it was a great gain to themselves; furnishing them plenty of fresh meat, and cheapening wonderfully the contents of at least one pack. Their perceptive faculties

[P5468]